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ABSTRACT

El Barrio is a simulation game representing the experience of Chicanos newly arrived in the urban barrio from rural areas. Players try to make friendship ties, avoid trouble with the police, improve their English, get citizenship papers, buy a car, and participate in the payoffs of the system. The game is played through a physical representation of barrio society involving shooting marbles to obtain payoffs or get into trouble. El Barrio is based on research and cbservation of barrio life for new arrivals and is not intended for Chicanos themselves, who already know how to survive, but rather as an educational tool for those who wish to help, such as teachers, volunteers, police, etc. (The rules of the game, a checklist for the director, questions for discussion afterwards, and a list of materials and how to make them are all included in this document.) (RH)

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EL BARRIO

First Revised Version

Berkeley Project on Gaming Simulation

12 July 1971

contents:

A. Rules of the Game

B. Background

C. Playing Games

D. Explanation of rules

E. Checklist for the Game Overall Director

F. Questions for discussion after the game

G. List of materials and suggestions for how to make them.

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A. RULES OF THE GAME

1. The director lets the participants choose a role: either a chicano or the system, the police, or the judge. The role descriptions specify color, compadre relationships, initial number of marbles, and width of gate and shooting line. Participants set up their gates and pin up their name cards or set them up behind their gate. Each is given a cup to hold his marbles.

ROBERTO ROJO
19 years old, from the Coachella Valley in Southern California, Junior High graduate, Fair English, compadre of Victor Verde, starts with 5 marbles, 2 inch gate, 2nd shooting line.

BARTOLOMEO BLANCO
21 years old, from a town in Nicaragua, high school graduate, very poor English, starts with 4 marbles, 1 inch gate, on the 1st shooting line.

ANTONIO AZUL
23 years old, from an Arizona copper mine and the Viet Nam war, high school graduate, good English, compadre of Nestor Negron, starts with 6 marbles, 3 inch gate, 3rd shooting line.

VICTOR VERDE
20 years old, from a Mexican railroad crew, eight years of education poor English, no valid US citizen papers, compadre of Roberto Rojo, starts with 4 marbles, 2 inch gate, 1st shooting line.

NESTOR NEGRON
25 years old, from a town serving the cane fields of Cuba and a US military base there, eight years of education, fair English, compadre of Antonio Azul, starts with 5 marbles, 2 inch gate, 2nd shooting line.

THE SYSTEM (yellow)
includes outside employers, social welfare agencies, loan sharks, the outside power structure, hospitals, etc. Can not win to leave the game. Starts with 10 marbles, a small car, 1 inch gate, 3rd shooting line.

THE POLICE
hired by the system each round, can participate with up to 6 police marbles, can charge fines without court procedure of up to 4 marbles. Can not have a dowel or shoot, nor can it leave the game. Starts with 5 marbles.

THE JUDGE
makes decisions on cases brought before him, can change the game rules upon consulting the system and the Game Overall Director. He can not have a dowel or shoot marbles, nor can he win the game.

2. Director rolls die to set the "state of the economy" for this round. This determines how many job marbles will be placed.

3. The system player(s) set out the job marbles. They have to roll a die to determine the row, and can make their choice as to the column of the location of each job marble on the inner field.

4. Director sets out four trouble marbles.

5. The system can ask the police to set out any number of "officers" or police marbles.

6. (Omit in the first round) Director rolls 5 dice to determine the size of the payoff that may be obtained at the end of the round.

7. (Omit in the first round) Both chicanos and the system go into bargaining for a central "power structure" on the basis of their dowels. Only the coalition that can put the tallest tower together will have a chance at the payoff. If two towers seem to result from the bargaining, and if a split-up formula of the final payoff can be agreed upon, then the game can proceed with two "power structure." The director sets a time limit on the bargaining.

8. (Omit in the first round) The players in the final coalition(s) set up their dowels somewhere near the center of the board.

9. Director sets up "club houses" on two opposit corners of the inner shooting line. Before shooting through these gates on has to become a "member of the club" by leaving one marble on top of the "club house."

10. Shooting round for chicanos and system.

a. Director takes a tube and collects up to 15 marbles that the players want to shoot. If not all 15 fit in then he will collect more as the round progresses. One player can not put in more than 3.

b. Shooting starts in the order in which marbles were put into the director's tube. Normally players shoot from their gate, except for chicanos without valid papers who must ask someone else for the use of their gate. Alternatively one may shoot from a "social club", once one is a member.

c. Anyone who hits a job marble can get 2 marbles from the director, or can widen his gate by 1 inch.

d. Anyone who hits a trouble marble has to pay 2 marbles to the director, or to pass one turn.

e. Anyone who hits a police marble may be charged a fine by the police. Fines of up to 4 marbles can be collected on the spot, otherwise the case may be brought to court for the judge to decide.

f. Anyone who hits the tower and causes it to fall over will have prevented that coalition from receiving the final payoff, The debris must remain on the board for the rest of that round.

g. Anyone who goes over his shooting line with his hand may be charged a fine of 2 marbles by the police. Similarly players may be caught using a car without driver's license or being in a club without proof of age. In these cases the judge decides.

h. Anyone who hits another player's marble may be brought to court or may be ignored or may be treated friendly. If both marbles stay within the central portion of the board, the director can give a bonus of up to 3 marbles to be divided on the spot between the players involved. However, if either one of the marbles did not stay in the central square, then no bonus obtains.

11. (Omit in first round) When the shooting is over and the towers are still standing then the director gives out the payoff. It will be divided among the

participants in the winning coalition according to the arrangement that was made before the shooting started.

12. The director collects all the marbles that were shot out of the central arena, as well as half of the player marbles left inside the central square.

13. At the end of the round the system is given back the 3 1/2 inch dowel. The chicanos count their marbles and their dowels are redistributed by length accordingly.

14. Any player who has less than 2 marbles left over at the end of the round will receive "welfare" of 2 marbles from the system.

15. The police is paid one marble per "officer" by the system. Start next round by returning to point 2 above. While playing, also pay attention to the following:

16. The judge receives no material resources. He can freely decide on cases brought before him by the system, the police, the chicano's, or by the game director. If the case involves someone below the second "level of English", then someone has to pay 3 marbles for an interpreter, otherwise the case is thrown out of court.

17. Higher "levels of English" can be aquired for 3 marbles, to be paid to the director. Each time you get more "lessons" you can move your shooting line inward and build up a new gate there of the same width you had on the earlier line.

18. When a player has the third "level of English" he can take the "driving test." He will have to pay the system one marble, he must present proof of age (valid identity papers), and all questions on the test must be answered correctly. The rules of the road that one will be tested on are, in fact, the rules of the game. When granted, the license is symbolized by a star on one's hand.

19. Purchase of a "car" can be done from the director or from other players. The small tubes sell for 10, the big ones for 20 marbles. The game director will buy cars back for the same prices.

20. Anyone who hits a trouble marble when "driving" or using a tube will pay double penalty or "repair costs."

21. Anyone without valid identity papers must use someone else's gate to shoot from. If he hits a trouble or police marble he is ousted from the rest of the round and the person whose gate he shot through is taken to court. Citizen papers are available for 5 marbles, from the director.

22. Anyone who refuses to let a <u>compadre</u>

a. borrow up to 4 marbles

b. shoot from his gate

c. borrow a car

will loose 2 marbles to the director.

23. Any chicano who gets 50 marbles now has enough socio-economic resources to "build a house in the barrio" or to "go to the suburbs." He wins the game and moves out with all his marbles.

NOTE:

The correct answers to the driver's license test are:

1. A
2. B
3. A
4. B
5. B
6. B

DRIVERS LICENSE TEST

1. The fine for hitting a trouble marble is

   A. 2 marbles or loss of 1 turn

   B. 3 marbles, unless it is a special trouble marble in which case the fine is 4 marbles.

2. If a player's marble hits a police marble

   A. He pays no fine if he says he didn't mean to hit the officer

   B. The police officer decides the player's intent and can charge a fine. If the fine is not paid, the police can take the player to court.

3. Cost of going over the shotting line

   A. 2 marbles fine

   B. 1 marble pay-off to each policemena

4. The fine for driving without a driver's license is

   A. 2 times the fine under normal conditions

   B. to be determined in court

5. If a player hits another player's marble and knocks it out of the inner square, then

   A. He gets only half the bonus

   B. He gets no bonus

6. *When approaching an intersection with traffic lights - if a police-officer directs you to go against the lights, then you should

   A. Report the policeman

   B. Obey him - Policemen are always right

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*This question was taken from the California Driver's test, July 71.

B. BACKGROUND

How to survive and get established in an urban ghetto? It requires perseverance, a willingness to learn and make friends, along with a bit of luck in overcoming the threats that loom on every side. The newcomer from the rural areas, if he is not fleeing from catastrophe in the countryside, will have been alert to all the information available at home regarding the urban environment as seen from the bottom and looking upward. He brings this collection of fantasy, myth, and factual public knowledge with him into the ghetto as a set of expectations. The rural migrant's image of the street scene was once a product of the advertisements and occasional pictures found in cheap magazines and Sunday newspapers, but it is now dominated by the stereotypes in television productions. Most arrivals are strongly motivated to "make good" in the city despite racketeers, police harassment, and degrading jobs. Migrants that arrive with other motives are the sick, who come, often with family, to be cured at metropolitan hospitals. Another exception to the general intention to be fair are the petty criminals who arrive two jumps ahead of the law. This game is intended to trace the destiny of the recently arrived migrants as they make their way in the chicano ghetto a couple of moths after they appeared on the scene.

Good reasons exist for choosing to build a game around the working of the "barrio" in Western cities. It is generally believed that the rural-urban migration of the Blacks is due to dwindle. Moreover the heartbreak of the Blacks has been ably depicted in novels, films, drama, and song. A teaching game could hardly raise the level of awareness. However the rural-urban flow of Spanish-speaking peoples is now reaching flood tide. Perhaps three to five million more will move in the 1970's. Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Cubans, and smaller Islanders will flow into the East and to some extent the Midwest.

They make up perhaps half of the total. The others are of Mexican stock, although most have lived in what are now American rural areas for two to ten generations. They are reinforced by a considerable flow from the Central American states. These chicanos, a term no more than three decades old and proudly applied only in the past few years, are expected to make up the major urbanizing flow into Western metropolises. (The dominant anglo population seems merely to be recirculating, ever searching for more pleasing environments.) The urban chicanos have not yet been able to dramatize their built-in conflicts with The System because their popular artists have never caught on in a big way and their educational level, hindered by an even more severe linguistic barrier, averages several years behind the Blacks.

The backdrop for this game is the immigrant receiving area of a Western metropolis. The data were collected in Denver, San Antonio, Albuquerque, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and their peripheries, but they are likely to apply as well to Kansas City, Chicago, and even Detroit. The eyes and ears of the novelist, the evangelista, and the migrant laborer verbally reported were as much sources of information as the written works of the anthropologist, sociologist, or city planner. They described the situation of the chicanos from the earlier days going into the 1960's. This game simulates what we expect the conditons may be like through the 1970's. It does not take up the rather complicated politics of mobilization already launched by young and quite sophisticated politicians in East Los Angeles and San Francisco's Mission District, but of the flood of relative new-comers who may often need help from public agencies -- at huge cost to their dignidad.

Scholars at the University of Colorado (Hanson, Simmons, and co-workers) found that it was difficult to predict "success" on the basis of the background of the Mexican-American new arrival. Carefully reviewing the first

several years of settling into a Latin ghetto, they found that loss of employment, illness, too many additions to the family, coming under the influence of "bad company," and trouble with the authorities were the most common hazards. Any combination of them was usually sufficient to upset the prospects of the chicano immigrant. They found four well-trod paths into the ghetto: the Loser, who often arrives seeking treatment for illness for himself or someone in the family but may be dependent for other reasons, is subjected to a series of disasters that keep his household completely dependent upon public and private assistance; the Struggler, who starts being just as down and out but who, usually with the help of friends, becomes self-sufficient for long periods; the stumbler, who starts well, but runs into difficulties, and the Achiever, who progresses steadily from success to success, acquiring skill, and gaining respect in the community -- the fulfillment of the American Myth that is shared by immigrants and the multitude in the suburbs alike.

Other scholars have shown that vast differences exist between Latin ghettos in the West. Chicano areas can range from almost illiterate communities, clearly defined, feudally organized, and living close to subsistence, to zones in cities without definite boundaries where non-dialect English is more often heard than Spanish and where many other ethnic groups are intermixed. We have chosen a setting that lies somewhere in between. The levels of education and the knowledge of English the migrant brings with him are indications of that. Each player representing a recent migrant will be given a card which designates his age (the sex is presumed to be male because women in the family tend to follow the males in typical chicano society , although less so overtime) and origin, his work experience, and his level of English. The last two make a difference in his ability to hold down jobs, even of the unskilled or semi-skilled types, and to obtain drivers' and chauffeurs' licenses. The age is given primarily to

make the identification of the player with the new migrant somewhat easier, thus enriching the account of his experiences that he gives to the others at the end of the play.

The game itself does not attempt to teach chicanos, because with only a few weeks or months in the ghetto they will have learned more useful strategy than could ever be taught by a simulation of their environment. It is much more useful for people of good intentions who wish to help, either as professionals, such as teachers, social workers, firemen, police, missionaires, and community organizers, or in some voluntary capacity with universities, trade schools, churches, and cultural groups. They discover, for example, that the chicano values his social network much more highly than is common in the rest of the metropolis. He spends much of his time and income renewing his affiliations with family, compadres, and friends, as well as laying the groundwork for enlarging that network. They represent the true basis for social security. Chicanos of course respect money, social position, property, and culture, but when a person starts near the bottom in a strange metropolis he is likely to appreciate most the knowing of people who are simpaticos. So the aim of life in EL BARRIO is to build up ones social network as rapidly as possible.

Equally important is the observation that these migrants are working class. They come from landless or smallholding families. Manual skills are often more important at this stage than intellectual skills. That feature is introduced by making the shooting of marbles the basis for interaction between players. Marbles are normally played in the dirt, and kids get down on the ground to participate. It takes a great deal of humility to understand the underdog in urban society. (This approach was borrowed from a game designed earlier by Frederick Goodman of Ann Arbor called "They Shoot Marbles, Don't They.") The shooting of a marble represents an attempt to make new contacts. This effort must be made at the risk of losing one you already have had. Finishing ones

education, getting a car, and becoming a foreman on the job are all popular kinds of investment that can be made for enlarging ones social network.

A special player has been introduced which brings together a number of forces from outside the ghetto that affect the daily lives of the new immigrants. It is called "The System." Usually a player with prior experience with the game will play this role. The System shoots marbles in an effort to make friends, it may seek to join a coalition that makes up the political power structure, it may intercede with the police, and it is expected to provide "relief" to down-and-out players without a friend left in the world. That relief is provided on its own terms, of course. The System, although many faceted, is usually seen by chicanos as a single force in the barrio. Agencies of the city, the state, and the nation, cannot be distinguished by those who can least afford to study the arrangements. Of course this stereotype role will appear ambiguous if not inconsistent and arbitrary. The System appears to have large resources but does not use them. All players and The System are subject to the rulings of a Judge.

Players start with the minimal social network likely after a chicano immigrant has found a place to stay and a way of supporting himself. Watch out for those big police marbles!

BACKGROUND READING

1. The Mexican-Americans, UCLA Study

2. La Raza

3. Simmons and Hanson, (three papers)

4. Valdez, Chicano (paperback novel)

5. (Other recent novels)

6. Learning Activities and Materials, "They Shoot Marbles Don't They?" Ann Arbor, 1971, Environmental Simulations Laboratory, memeograph

C. PLAYING EXPERIENCE

In this game the participants are asked to take the role of latin migrants to the city. For most of us this means a role reversal: while we usually walk in the barrio as non-chicanos, observing and trying to help perhaps, we will now act as though we are the spanish speaking residents themselves. That can be done here without much risk: this is a game held away from the real barrio, and we shall all behave in the new roles at the same time.

By doing this we may learn some more about the dynamics of life of the chicanos, and we may realize some of the interelationships between the different social forces in the barrio. Games are a very effective method for learning these things, because in a simulation game one has to make decisions constantly. One can not stand on the outside and analyze for too long, but one has to commit oneself to some line of action and live up to the results. A game is not based on the attitude of detached consideration, but on one of immediate decision making and group activity.

Sometimes games are used as simulations, to find out how people in certain situations are likely to act. Games can be suggestive for social scientists that way, but they are not accurate in detail. Of course not, since any game is a simplification eliminating some aspects for the sake of clarity on other points.

The main purpose of this game is to give people who do not live in the barrio some understanding of how it feels to be a chicano in an American city. For a while, consider yourself able to deal with slum life, and get involved in the game as it now stands. Afterwards we will talk about the experience. Through this exercise we will develop a vocabulary of situations that can occur in the barrio. Later, when meeting others, you'll be able to understand then when they refer to these dynamics. By talking afterwards about how it felt to be in

certain positions, a level of trust among the participants may come about.

The debriefing, after the game is over, should be seen as an essential part of the gaming experience. It is in that period that participants can internalize the things they learned during play. They can be asked to reiterate their experience in the game and to think of examples from the real world that prove the same thing. Then the gaming model can be criticized, improvements suggested, and analogies to other situations may be drawn. Looking back on what happened one may feel more empathy towards residents, of the real barrio, one may become more aware of one's own implicit understanding and tacit abilities, or one may more clearly identify one's weaknesses.

This game can be played by groups of between 8 and 30 people. Although eight roles are specified, these can be carried out by teams of up to 3 people each. Other functions can be included such as a lawyer, journalist, insurance agent, shooting specialist, banker, etc. One person is usually responsible for the overall directing of the game. He first explains the rules and then continues to represent the non human outside forces and to provide guidance. This is usually someone who has played it before and he may be referred to as the Game Overall Director. When the game is used in the classroom, the teacher will typically assume the role of G.O.D. although students can do it too. The players determine the course of each round, the coalitions, the innocence or guilt of individuals, the amount of welfare and salary, etc. The main functions of the G.O.D. is to insure that the sequence of play is correctly performed.

In explaining the game in the beginning, try to make it short. Describe the the general situation and read out the role descriptions. Then explain the marble shooting and start to play. Only after the first round, explain the dowel bargaining. Most of what the players are told before hand doesn't make sense to them yet; they will probably ask the same things again later. Do answer these questions.

Life in the barrio is not easy. This game is going to be somewhat discomforting for the chicanos, especially in the beginning. Players are likely to show various "escape" reactions, until they perceive how their peers are taking it seriously and how the payoffs start to increase. Some players will want to be directed, as if it isn't they who are playing, but it is "necessity" or "the director." However, the objective is not for leader or manual-oriented behavior to occur, but rather for the players to act independently under the constraints. Encourage them to experience the situation with their peers.

Others may not fully adhere to the definitions and goals as stipulated in the design of the game. The development of secondary or imagined aims occurs in reality as well. Religions, Syndicated, and Fads such as cars can become very important. Leave players free to redefine their roles and objectives and provide them continuously with information regarding the alternatives they have according to the initial game structure. Sometimes they may be able to state their purposes, and then the results can be interpreted in terms of whether their actions helped or hindered them in achieving their aims.

The game functions as an educational tool towards increasing trust, acting out past situations, developing a common frame of reference, and enhancing one's understanding of oneself. It continues to function that way if individual objectives are slightly changed, and even if the judge changes the rules of the game. The rules presented here are meant only as a beginning, and one is invited to modify them, just as we have been doing up to the point when these rules were written up. Maybe the greatest learning occurs when participants build their own model, or compare alternative sets of rules by playing them. The game will continue to teach something about the life of the least privileged in our society as long as the rules reflect the arbitrariness and power of the system relative to the majority of the players. Let us hope the participants will enjoy the game, and don't forget to have a discussion when it is over.

READINGS ABOUT GAMES

Berkeley, Ellen P., "The New Gamesmanship" in 'Architectural Forum', Vol. 12g, NR 5, December 1968, page 58-63.

Boocock, S. and Coleman, J., "Games With Simulated Environments in Learning" In 'Sociology of Education', Vol. 39, NR3, Summer 1966, Page 215.

Office of Research Administration, University of Michigan, "Game Simulations and Learning" In 'Research News', March 1971, Vol. XXI, NR9.

Simile II, "An Inventory of Hunches About Simulations as Educational Tools", La Jolla, California 1970.

Smit, Peter H., "Present Questions I have About Simulation Games", Paper for Professor Meier, University of California, Berkeley, June 1971.

D. EXPLANATION

This section is directed towards game designers and social scientists. It attempts to explain the choice of rules we have made, and suggests some alternatives and extensions.

As a clear symbol of leaving reality behind, the participants are given name cards of the roles they are to play in the game. During the introductory explanation one can replace the normal responsabilities in one's mind with the perspective of some ghetto resident. Players should be addressed with their latin name, thus making themselves identifiable by their new identity among the other participants. This will reduce escape reactions, or fleeing from the role. After half an hour of play, the rules will be clear and higher levels of involvement will ensue. The names of the roles already specify the color of their marbles and gate.

Make it clear in the beginning that there will be a discussion after the game is over. Particularly if the participants don't know each other they may be hesitant to act competitively if there were no opportunity to even out animosities in the end. If possible, let the participants select the roles they want to play. Let them know beforehand that the game revoles around the fate of the five chicanoes while the other roles more or less set the environment: the system, the police, and the judge. Of course, more roles may be created ad hoc at at any time.

At the beginning the players enter the game with different amounts of resources. Some have more marbles, wider gates, or a closer shooting line than others. This reflects the varieties of social, professional and language abilities with which migrants typically enter. We are not dealing with a mass process characterized by homogneity. People bring great inequities with them as they enter urban life. Yet in comparison to the resources that the system has, all chicanoes have equally little.

The length of the dowels represent the political power of the particpatns, with the final payoff reflecting the value others attach to this neighborhood being under control. Whether these others are the maffia that needs uninterrupted local operation for the corner bookies, or the city planning department that needs a citizen participation group for obtaining federal renewal funds is left open. However, even for the poorest ghettos there are outside forces who desire internal stability. In order to spread the explanation of the complicated rules, the bargaining session and dowel tower payoff were left out of the first run. This makes for a better simulation too since chicanoes are barely aware of the power structure in their first efforts to build up a social network.

The essential resource in the game is marbles. These do not represent money as much as the capability for social interaction. It is a potential for gainful or enjoyable contact. The player must actualize this potential with skill and strategy. Yet without this potential it is virtually impossible to obtain jobs, to cope with trouble, or to be hospitable to a relative; leave alone to make it to the suburbs.

The system is the most composit role. It represents the functioning of all kinds of forces that operate from outside the barrio. Its nature is typically upper middle class white Anglo's with depersonalized institutions. This includes business, and industry (employment opportunities), land owners and property managers (landlords), local and federal agencies (social welfare), Universities and clinics. The system participates in the barrio dynamics in some four ways:

1. The System helps place the job marbles. Of course the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity and private industry and businessmen are bound by the economy at large and by any external directives as to the jobs they can provide. In fact, any fluctuation in the large economy is likely to show up as great oscillations in

the employment opportunities for chicanos. Hence the roll of the die with variation from one to six in the number of job marbles that can be placed. A roll of the die is also used to determine one dimension of their placement on the board. Thus the job marble location is based half on chance and half determined by the system.

2. The system defines the amount of hassle from the police that ghetto residents will experience. It does not control exactly where the police marbles will be located, but it sets the number of "officers" that it will pay for. By behaving nicely towards the system the chicanos can probably convice it to order only a few police marbles. The system may ask the police to guard the tower or to locate close to a particular player's gate. Thus it can become partisan or oppressive, or self defeating as it blocks access to the job opportunities that it set out earlier. To operate this way, a certain level of communication between the system and the police has to be maintained. Other kinds of trouble are outside the range of influence of the system; unexpected family addition, illness or accidents are symbolized by the trouble marbles that the director has set out.

3. The system enters into the bargaining process regarding the central power dowel. This implies that anyone who wants to par-take in the tower with the system will probably receive a small portion of the payoff, yet their team easily wins in the competition for the highest dowel. Often, the chicanos will band together against the system and come up with a taller, more equitable, but less stable tower.

4. Finally the system shoots marbles, trying to win friends and to keep out of trouble. While the primary arena for social interaction of most of the agency personnel is in white areas or among the officials themselves, some motivation exists in reality to come to a closer relationship with barrio residents. Thus the system shoots marbles, and can use that potential to overthrow unfriendly power structures. A throw of the dice would then determine whether a player can actually move up his gate.

To clarify the game somewhat, we first paid our attention to the most important player, the system, and his interactions with the others. Now, let us take a look at the primary activity of the game, marble shooting, and its specific cases and meanings. Shooting a marble is an attempt to use one's potential for social interaction. If one wants to interact appropriately, one should take good aim and come on neither too strong nor too weakly.

The gates that simulate clubs form shooting positions that are often better than the gate a chicano has initially. These clubs may represent bars, churches, or other social institutions. Perhaps these institutions could be played by participants. Then, some of the revenue of shots from there would be lost to the club owner. These would usually be chicanos who are better off and more established. Dynamics for their shooting marbles, bargaining for the tower and selling their club could be owrked out.

At first the players have to put their marbles in the tube. Chicanos are not automatically given a turn to shoot, they must be somewhat aggressive in order to participate at all. They can place up to three marbles which reflects the limited time and energy that can be expended over anyone time period. On average there will be no more than 2 1/2 marbles shot per player since the maximum per round is 15. One may be kind to others and let them put in a marble or one may just use all the plugging tactics one has got.

Collecting the 15 or fewer marbles that are to be shot before the round starts brings in another dynamic that seems quite arbitrary and unnecessary to most slum residents; planning ahead and being committed. You don't know how many marbles will be on the board by the time your shot will come up, nor will you be sure that the job marbles are still in the same place they are now. As the round progresses, your marbles will appear to come out of the bottom of the tube as by accident, even

though you've put them in yourself. Then, for a minute the show is yours while you shoot. How well you do, perhaps, is influenced by the subconscious self image you've built up on the basis of the previous interactions.

Players shoot from their gates. In the game there are three things about a gate that can make it better to shoot from; proximity to the central arena, width of the gate, and its location. In reality, the following three things seem to be the most important in respect to how likely a barrio resident is to benefit from his interaction potential: language facility, job experience, and the location of his residence.

One's level of English, then, is reflected by the shooting line one has to use. Persons with little understanding of the general North American tongue have to set up their gate on the further edge out. Those who have made it to the second level of English, either by initial familiarity or by taking lessons, can be heard in court without an interpreter. When one attains a position on the third and inner most shooting line one is supposed to know enough English to be able to comprehend an American driver's test. Further levels of English were not simulated, although they may be important in the case of obtaining employment or job training. One would expand the number of levels by drawing more lines.

Lessons to gain a higher level of English can be taken at any time, at the cost of time, energy, and tuition money, that is to say at the cost of a small number of potential interactions. The game could be expanded to entail English examinations, or some other means of assessing whether the lessons are paid for actually resulted in additional ability.

A player's job training is reflected in the width of his gate. A new worker will have a 1 inch gate, experienced and skilled workers have wider gates, while foremen have a gate so wide as to allow them to get close to a job marble each round.

The way to increase one's job experience is to use a job more as an educational opportunity rather than as a social interaction. This is symbolized by giving the players a choice, once they hit a job marble, between taking two marbles and expanding their gate. It was suggested, at one point, that there be two types of marbles; one representing social potential and the other economic resources. These were amalgamated with the idea that social skills is usually employed to increase one's economic standing, to get work or to cope with trouble, to learn more English or to get wind of a cheap car, etc. Or conversely, any expenditure of money meant foregoing the opportunity to make some more friends while earning economically implied a larger capacity to interact. Yet the element of choice between different hinds of revenue seemed important, and it is here retained in the alternatives of widening ones gate or receiving some marbles, once a job is hit.

The location of a barrio resident, finally, is reflected by his location on the board. Does the system provide job opportunities nearby? Is the police very active on that side? The rules could easily be expanded to allow moving around a certain cost, retaining of course one's shooting line and gate width. In as much as one can not locate where someone else has already set up his gate, the concept of territoriality is introduced.

Social interaction results not only from shooting marbles but also from just being around. If you left a marble somewhere in the inner square, then others in their shooting may hit you. You can decide to take offense at these approaches and to take the uninvited intruder to court. As soon as the judge is able to, he will decide if any restitution has to be paid to you or to the initiator of most laws, the director. Alternatively you may ignore the contact, or you may opt for the friendship bonus that is available from the director. The motivation behind the bonus is as follows: If you decide to become friends, you are likely to tell about

the other acquaintances you have in this world. Similarly your social network will be indirectly extended by the other acquaintances that your new friend will mention. Both parties will increase their potential for interaction which is symbolized by the bonus of up to three marbles that the director will make available on request.

As a test if there is real friendship or merely a desire for the bonus, it is required that the two parties must agree on how to split up the odd number of 3. Normally marbles will be given to the various players each in his own color. Then, if the other player wants to put more marbles in the director's tube he can put in one of your colors, for you to shoot. Thus the friendships in the game come to mean something more lasting than the one marble split up when hit.

Thus even the marbles that are just sitting in the inner area represent interaction potential. But the marbles that were shot too hard, or that rolled out of the arena when hit later on, are collected as garbage by the director. They are not to become the resources of anyone.

In several runs of the game it was found that the number of friendly hits possible after some four rounds become unnaturally large as more player marbles had piled up in the inner square. Although this made the game more enjoyable, it seems to be a better reflection of slum life if a third or half the player marbles inside the central arena are taken out each round as well.

A very different means of extending one's interaction potential is the automobile. With the tubes it is much easier for the unexperienced marble shooter to hit a somewhat removed aim. Yet repair costs and police hassles are only increased once one has a second hand car. Hence the penalties are now doubled and the court is involved more often. One is expected to buy and maintain a car in constant, be in minimal condition. Hence the system will give a trade in value of 10 on the small tubes, which is as much was paid for them in the first place.

The rules regarding citizen papers and compadre relationships are self-explanatory. The role descriptions specify the age, the status of one's paper, and the compadres one has in the game. Not being hospitable to family members or close friends is looked down upon very strongly in chicano society, hence the loss of interaction potential. Yet this loss may be smaller than that in a court procedure that may result if the person who shot through your gate hit a policeman, for example.

The objective of the 50 marbles to go to the suburbs was put in to motivate the players. It is doubtful that anyone would achieve this objective in a typical 3 hour playing session, if the system gets 50 marbles it should hand out more welfare; it can not win to leave the arena, nor can the police. The judge, of course, is completely beyond any interaction or resource oriented objectives, free to decide on the basis of whatever does motivate him.

E. DIRECTOR'S CHECKLIST

o. Start the game by handing out role descriptions, except to the person without valid citizen papers. Give a short explanation of the following points, omitting the dowel bargaining at first. Explain that before the second round starts.

1. State of the economy (die) and Job marbles location (system).
2. Trouble marbles (4) and Police marbles (system).
3. (Second round) Size of tower pay-off (dice) and dowel bargaining.
4. Set up club houses (join for 1) and Tower.
5. Shooting round. See to it that no more than 15 marbles are shot, of which no more than 3 per player. Rules on hitting: job (2 or gate), trouble (2 or pass), over the line (2), each other (up to 3). Inhospitable relatives (2), driver's fines double, non-citizens use other gates.
6. (Second round) Tower pay-off, and redistribute dowels.
7. Collect garbage outside (all) and inside (half).
8. Welfare (2) and Police pay (1) by system.
9. English lessons (3), and Driver's test (1, language, ID, test)
10. Car sales (10,20), and Citizen papers (5).

F. QUESTIONS AFTER PLAY I

Did Victor Verde get his citizen papers? Do you feel it is important to get them?

Who was best at marble shooting?

Did he ever shoot for someone else? Did he change a fee or do it for free?

Was there anyone who acquired a car and shot for others through it?

Did anyone ever loan his car out?

Were cars acquired individually, or did several people chip in to buy a car?

Did anyone acquire a cadillac? Did it make a difference?

Were cars any use in overthrowing the power structure?

Could you get in to your role easily?

Did life in the city seem complicated at first?

Did anybody go broke?

Who needed welfare?

What happened with your first few shots?

How long were you on welfare?

Does the system remember you now as greatful for that welfare?

Did the system give employment bonuses, welfare, language lessons, and drivers tests consistently or only when pushed?

Did anyone take the drivers test? Was it hard?

Did you have to loose a turn to take it? Did that raise the real cost of the license above the one marble as advertised?

Who raised his language ability?

Was any case thrown out of court because a party did not know enough English?

Did anyone use the club as a means to bypass his set-back as far as language was concerned?

Did the system ever join and use a club?

Did compadres use the same club?

Did compadres help each other?

Do the compadres now have nearly the same number of marbles?

Did any of the two couples of compadres find it beneficial to live on opposite sides of the board so they could shoot from either side?

When the game started, was it possible not to shoot in a round yet still to have an income? Did that become possible lateron?

Did you mostly shoot for jobs or for friends?

Did the police ever let someone off when he hit one of them?

Did their fines get stiffer or more lenient as the game progressed? What do you think that depended on?

Did they always place as many officers as the system asked them to?

Did the system ask for more or less officers as the game progessed? Why?

Did the police ever focus on one player, trying to intimidate him through multiple vague acquisitions?

Do the police now have more or fewer marbles than the chicanos on average?

Did the police ever make friends with anyone, giving him marbles when hit, allowing him to shoot over the line, etc.?

Did the police ever hassle the system?

Did the judge rely a lot on police information?

Did the judge ever invite chicano witnesses?

Did due legal process seem readily available to the chicanos, or did they really not have the time to go through a case?

Did the judge's verdicts come quickly or did he often ask for more information or more time?

Could the judge be bribed?

Did any chicano ever bring a case to court or was it only the police and the system who did that?

Were there decisions that the system made that seemed arbitrary? Were they brough to court?

Did the typical court cases involve a lot of marbles or were they more questions of prestigue and obedience?

Were any of the initial game rules canged in court? Did the system agree?

Was the system with its longer dowel always a part of the power structure?

Did the people who went in with the system get a fair share of the payoff?

Did the system go in with the same chicano player every time? Could more join up?

Did he expand his number of marbles faster?

Did other players resent this to the point of knocking the tower down?

If chicanos were motivated to knock down the tower but didn't, how were they kept so peaceful?

If the chicanos banded together not to let the system be in the central power structure, did that make the system want to knock the tower over?

If the system was motivated to knock over the tower but didn't, how was it kept so peaceful?

In how many rounds was the tower knocked over? Roughly how many marbles lost did this imply?

Was there a switch from system-in to system-out towers? Roughly how many marbles did the chicanos have at that point?

Was there a chicano who rallyed the others, who spoke for them in court, or who otherwise acted as an organizer?

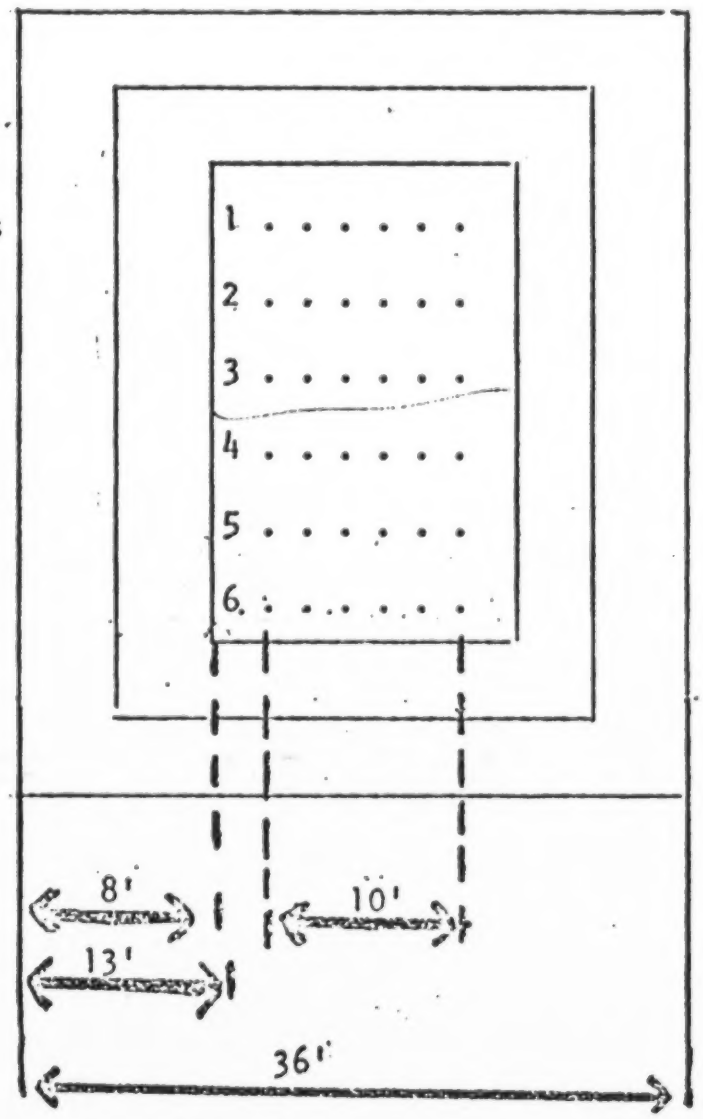
Were there any cooperatives and communes or were resources seen as individual throughout?

Were any additional roles created?

Did the game make you question any of the real world dynamics or did it merely reconfirm your images?

G. MATERIALS

1. Board. Get a sheet of felt of at least 36 inches square. Draw the board with a felt pen as shown. Shooting lines are roughly 4 inches apart and the dots in the central area are about 2 inches apart in order to prevent ripples in the sheet and to get an underground to pin the gates in, get a piece of soft board. This material brakes easily, but that does not matter since the whole will be placed on the ground and supported everywhere. A fancy board can have bumpers on the edge of it so that the marbles don't roll off. With a backing board the whole thing does become hard to transport.



2. Name Cards. Get some filing cards or computer cards. These can be affixed with a paper clip to most shirt pockets, or folded over and placed on the ground. On the back the role description may be written out.

3. Gate pins or blocks, 2 of each of the six colors.

4. Five dice.

5. About 40 marbles in each of six colors (5 chicanos and the system).

6. Seven plastic cups to hold player's marbles.

7. Some six similar job marbles, distinguishable from the other marbles.

8. Some four similarly colored trouble marbles, distinguishable from the c marbles.

9. Some six big similar police marbles, distinguishable from any other marble.

10. Dowels, 1 inch in diameter, cut into pieces of 3-1/2, 1-1/2, 1-1/2, 1, 1, and 1/2 inch long.

11. A three minute egg timer.

12. Two gates of some kind, big enough to shoot a marble through and to place marbles on top of. When using lego, take four 2 x 4 nub pieces and two 2 x 16 nub pieces.

13. Some stiff, unbreakable, probably plastic tubing, four short (5 inch) and four long (12 inch) pieces. Make sure they are big enough around to let a marble go through.

14. Some three toy police badges.

15. Some five extra copies of the driver's test.

16. Some paste-on little stars.

All of these materials are available from five and dime, hardware, textile, stationary, and toy stores.